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Message Text

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SNM-02 DEAE-00 HEW-08 CEQ-02 EPA-04 SCI-06 TRSE-00

NIC-01 DRC-01 /173 W
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R 221120Z DEC 73
FM USMISSION BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2776
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL DUESSELDOR
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSU MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BERLIN 2183

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ETRD, US, GE, WB
SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR GDR

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1. SUMMARY. UNLESS CURRENT INDICATORS PROVE DECEIVING,
1974, WILL BEAR WITNESS TO REGULARIZATION OF US-GDR
RELATIONS. AS A CONSEQUENCE, U.S. WILL BE CONFRONTED
WITH TASK OF SERIOUSLY DEFINING SCOPE AND NATURE OF
ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTEREST VIS-A-VIS EAST
GERMANY. AT SAME TIME, INCREASING PARTICIPATION OF GDR
IN MULTILATERAL FORA WILL PRESENT U.S. LIMITED BUT NOT
NECESSARILY INCONSEQUENTIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXPLOITING
GDR PROCLIVITIES, NEEDS, AND ANXIETIES IN PURSUIT OF BROADER
U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES. U.S. EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN WILL
HAVE TO CONTEND WITH FRUSTRATIONS INHERENT IN TIGHTLY
CONTROLLED ENVIRONMENT WHICH WILL BE COMPOUNDED BY UNIQUE
OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS DUE TO PRECULIARITIES OF GDR'S COMPETENCE IN
VIEW OF CONTINUED QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPOSI-
BILITIES. END SUMMARY.

2. ON BASIS PREVAILING POLITICAL CLIMATE, EAST AND WEST,
ONE MAY ASSUME THAT 1974 WILL MARK GENESIS OF FORMAL
US-GDR RELATIONS. WHILE IN LARGE MEASURE SUCH AN ASSUMPTION
FLOWS LOGICALLY AND NATURALLY FOR MOVES TOWARD DETENTE GENERALLY, AND
FRG'S OSTOPOLITIK SPECIFICALLY, WE BELIEVE DIPLOMATIC
RECOGNITION PRESUPPOSES THAT NATIONS ARE ABLE TO IDENTIFY
SOME DEGREE OF BILATERAL BENEFIT AND ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED
BY NORMALIZING RELATIONS. ONE MOST ISSUES GDR AND U.S.
INTERESTS WILL DIVERGE. ALTHOUGH THIS PRIMARILY A FUNCTION
OF EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES, ESPECIALLY IN CONTEXT OF GERMAN
PROBLEM, IT IS ALSO REFLECTIVE OF DISPARATE US-GDR ROLES
IN OPPOSING SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. WE WOULD CONTEND,
HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE AREAS, ALBEIT LIMITED ONES, IN
WHICH U.S. AND GDR MAY FIND IT MUTALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO
COOPERATE OR IN WHICH U.S. MAY BE IN POSITION TO EXERT
LEVERAGE ON GDR IN PROMOTION OF SPECIFIC POLITICAL/
ECONOMIC GOALS.

3. U.S. INFLUENCE IN GDR IS NOW AND FOR FORESEEABLE
FUTURE WILL BE LARGELY CIRCUMSCRIBED BY: A) SOVIET
DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OVER KEY SALIENT IN
CENTRAL EUROPE: B) DEEP-SEATED INSECURITY OF EAST
GERMAN REGIME, CONVINCED THAT ITS VIABILITY IS ASSURED
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ONLY THROUGH CLOSEST ALIGNMENT WITH USSR: C) GDR
IRRITATION WITH U.S. ROLE AS GUARANTOR OF STATUS OF
BERLIN; D) LINGERING SUSPICIONS OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR
PERCEIVED FRG DESIGNS UPON AND INTENTIONS TOWARD GDR:
E) FEARS THAT RELAXATION OF DOMESTIC EXHORTATIONS TO AND
CONTROLS OVER ITS POPULATION MAY LEAD TO IRREPARABLE
RENTS AND TEARS IN EAST GERMAN SOCIAL-ECONOMIC FABRIC.
AT SAME TIME, GDR INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING RELATIONS

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WITH U.S,, ACKNOWLEDGED LEADER OF WESTERN CAMP, AS
CAPSTONE ITS INTERNATIONA LEGITIMACY, AS WELL AS DETENTE'S
SUCCESS IN FORCING AN INCREASED EXPOSURE OF EAST GERMANY TO
TO WEST, SHOULD OFFER U.S. BETTER POLITICAL/ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITIES IN GDR THAN ANYTIME SINCE END OF WW II. SUCH
OPPORTUNITIES WOULD FURTHER IMPROVE OVER LONGER TERM, SHOULD
INCREASINGLY SELF-CONFIDENT GDR BE TEMPTED TO ADOPT A MORE
INDEPENDENT STANCE WITHIN THE SOVIET BLOC. ALTHOUGH FRG OFFERS
GDR UNIQUE COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES NOT TO BE MATCHED BY
OTHERS, EAST GERMAN INTEREST IN ELUDING EMBRACE OF FRG
SUGGESTS THAT GDR MAY SEEK TO DIVERT SOME OF ITS COMMERCE
AWAY FROM BONN BY SECURITY ACCESS TO OTHER WESTERN,
INCLUDING U.S. MARKETS. WHILE WE CLEARLY SHOULD NOT
ATTEMPT TO INSINUATE OURSELVES INTO POSITION BETWEEN BONN
AND EAST BERLIN ON ISSUES CONSIDERED BY FRG TO BE IN ITS
VITAL INTERESTS, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COMPETE FOR
SUCH COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES AS ARE PRESENTLY AVAILABLE
IN GDR.

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DEAE-00 HEW-08 CEQ-02 EPA-04 SCI-06 TRSE-00 NIC-01

DRC-01 /173 W
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R 221120Z DEC 73
FM USMISSION BERLIN
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
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4. NATURALLY, MOST IMMEDIATE AND OBVIOUS AREA OF US-GDR POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE IN BERLIN AND OVER FUTURE OF GERMANY AS A WHOLE. ALTHOUGH GDR, CONSTRAINED BY BROADER INTERESTS, HAS THUS FAR REFRAINED CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM SEEKING A BASIC ALTERATION OF ESTABLISHED ALLIED PRACTICE IN THESE AREAS, FACT REMAINS THAT GDR FINDS SITUATION, PARTICULARLY REGARDING BERLIN, ESPECIALLY GRIEVOUS TO ITS CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY AND WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT, WITH SOVIET CONCURRENCE, TO UNDERMINE CURRENT REGIMEN. THEREFORE, A POINT COULD BE REACHED WHERE SUCH ATTEMPT COULD RESULT IN DIRECT US-GDR CONFRONTATION. IN OUR VIEW, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO PRECLUDE ANY EAST GERMAN MISUNDERSTANDINGS AS TO U.S. INTERESTS IN REGARD TO BERLIN OR GERMANY AS A WHOLE. WE SHOULD SEEK TO ACHIEVE THIS PRIMARILY BY ESTABLISHING PRINCIPLES OF CONDUCT FOR ANY U.S. PRESENCE IN EAST GERMANY TO ASSURE GDR IS NOT INVOLVED IN ISSUES OUTSIDE ITS LEGITIMATE COMPETENCE, AND BY HOLDING SOVIET UNION STRICTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR EAST GERMAN BEHAVIOUR ON ISSUES TOUCHING ON FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

5. INTERNALLY EAST GERMAN REGIME, RACKED BY DOUBTS AND INSECURITIES AS TO ITS DOMESTIC ACCEPTANCE, CONTINUES TO IMPOSE A CODE OF MORALLY DEBASING SOCIETAL BANS AND CONTROLS OVER ITS POPULATION. U.S. ABILITY TO ALTER THIS IN ANY MEASURE IS STRICTLY LIMITED, NOT ONLY BY AUTHORITARIAN NATURE OF GDR SOCIETY BUT ALSO BY EAST GERMAN VIGILANCE CAMPAIGNS INITIATED IN WAKE OF EAST-WEST DETENTE. ON OTHER HAND, EAST GERMAN POPULACE, APPARENTLY UNIMPRESSED BY GDR PROPAGANDA AND IN LARGE PART ISOLATED FROM ANTI-AMERICAN TIRADES OF WESTERN EUROPEAN LEFT, IS NOT ONLY DEEPLY CURIOUS ABOUT BUT BASICALLY FRIENDLY TO U.S. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, WE WOULD EXPECT THAT A WELL-DESIGNED U.S. INFORMATION AND CULTURAL PROGRAM FOR EXAMPLE,

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MAY WELL BE ABLE TO NURTURE SOME POSITIVE VPUBLIC REACTION, IF NOT NECESSARILY TO U.S. POLICIES, TO U.S. SOCIETY GENERALLY. AT SAME TIME, INCREASED PERSONAL EXPOSURE BY EAST GERMANS TO AMERICA AND AMERICANS MAY BRING LONG-TERM POLICIAL REWARDS, AND WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE GREATER EFFORTS TO STIMULATE US-.GDR EDUCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL EXCHANGES AND TOURISM. INASMUCH AS GDR MEDIA COVERAGE OF U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO BE BIASED AND POLEMICAL, WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT FUTURE U.S. FACILITATIVE ASSISTANCE FOR EAST GERMAN JOURNALISTS BE HIGHLY SELECTIVE.

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6 ONE OF POTENTIAL AREAS FOR PROFITABLE U.S. ENGAGEMENT OF GDR IS WITHIN INTERNATIONAL AND MULTILATERAL FORA, ALTHOUGH FOR POLITICAL/IDEOLOGICAL REASONS GDR WILL CAREFULLY EMBED ITS POSITIONS INTO THOSE OF SOVIET UNION. ON THOSE ISSUES WHERE IT PERCEIVES EITHER ITS SECURITY OR STABILITY AS BEING DIRECTLY THREATENED, SUCH AS CSCE OR MMFR, THE GDR MAY EVEN ARTICULATE POSITIONS NOTICEABLY MORE RIGID THAN ITS SOVIET MENTORS. CONTINUED DIFFICULTIES CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED ON THOSE MULTILATERAL ISSUES TOUCHING ON STATUS OF BERLIM. IN SOME MULTILATERAL AREAS, HOWEVER, U.S. AND GDR INTERESTS MAY CONVERGE AND THUS PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR FRUITFUL COOPERATION. RECENT EXAMPLE WAS ICNAF, WHERE GDR, AWARE OF REAL HAZARDS OF OVER-FISHING, AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO LIMITING TIS CATCH ALONG WITH OTHER MAJOR NATIONAL FISHERIES IN AREA. OTHER INTERNATINAL FIELDS IN WHICH U.S. MAY ENCOUNTER, OR INDUCE, REASONABLY COOPERATIVE GDR ATTITUDES WOULD BE ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY, HEALTH, AND NARCOTICS CONTROL.

7. COMMERCIAL SPHERE IS ONE IN WHICH PROSPECTS FOR TANGIBLE RESULTS ARE MOST PROMISING. GDR CAN BE EXPECTED TO PRESS FOR CONCLUSION OF FORMAL TRADE AGREEMENT, BUT EVEN IN ABSENCE OF SUCH AGREEMENT, PRESENT MINIMAL TRADE WITH U.S. COULD EXPAND RELATIVELY QUICKLY. USUAL PROBLEMS OF DEALING WITH CENTRALLY DIRECTED ECONOMY WILL REMAIN. BUT AN OFFICIAL PRESENCE IN EAST BERLIN COULD ASSIST AMERICAN PRIVATE SECTOR IN CULTIVATING GDR COMMERCIAL BUREAUCRACY, WHICH APPEARS TO BE ENTICED BY AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY/KNOW HOW AND BY PROSPECT OF DIVERSIFYIN WESTERN SOURCES OF SUPPLY. AN IMPORTANT DETERMINANT OF AMERICAN EXPORT GROWTH WILL BE U.S. ABILITY TO SUPPLY PRIORITY GDR NEEDS ON COMPETITIVE TERMS. ALTHOUGH GDR IS COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING A MAJOR SHARE OF ITS TRADE WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, ITS ECONOMY NEEDS WESTERN COMMERCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL STIMULI IF IT IS TO MEET ITS PLANNED OJECTIVES. THIS IS, OF COURSE, ALSO VERY MUCH IN INTEREST OS SOVIETS, WHO DEPEND HEAVILY ON GDR DELIVERIES OF

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FINISHED PRODUCTS. IF EAST GERMANS RELAX THEIR CURRENT
NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION ARRANGE-
MENTS, THERE MAY EMERGE AND ADDITIONAL SIGNIFICANT POTENTIAL
FOR EXPANSION OF US-GDR ECONOMIC TIES. RECENT GDR-GM CON-
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TACTS SUGGEST THAT POSSIBLY SUCH RELAXATION NOT COMPLETELY
EXCLUDED, ALTHOUGH PROJECTS INVOLVING FRG-BASED AMERICAN
SUBSIDIARIES MIGHT CAUSE GDR POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES.

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AMEMBASS PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN

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8. IN ADDITION, EAST BERLIN MAY WELL PROVE TO BE A USEFUL AREA FOR SOUNDING INTRA-BLOC ACTIVITIES AND ATTITUDES. GIVEN GDR'S POLITICO-ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE

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(EAST BERLIN IS CONSIDERED BY MANYEES SECOND ONLY TO MOSCOW IN IMPORTANCE), EASTERN EUROPEANS TRADITIONALLY HAVE STATIONED EXPERIENCED AND WELL-CONNECTED PERSONNEL IN THEIR EAST BERLIN MISSIONS. CONTACT WITH SUCH MISSIONW, WHILE NOT EAST TO DEVELOP, COULD BRING MOSAIC OF EE ACTIVITIES INTO SHARPER RELIEF.

9. BASED ON EXPERIENCES OF OTHER WESTERN MISSIONS ACCREDITED TO GDR, OUR EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN CAN BE EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER CONSIDERABLE OPERATIONAL DIFFICULTIES. WHILE ADMINISTRATIVELY THESE IN LARGE MEASURE ENGENDERED BY AN OVER-TAXED AND CUMBERSOME BUREAUCRACY, AS WELL AS REAL SHORTAGES IN AVAILABLE HOUSING AND SERVICES, THEY ARE COMPOUNDED IN SUBSTANTIVE AREAS BY TEUTONIC THOROUGNESS WITH WHICH REGIME IMPOSES AND IMPLEMENTS TOTALITARIAN CONTROLS OVER OFFICIAL AS WELL AS UNOFFICIAL EAST GERMAN CONTACTS WITH WESTERNERS. MOREOVER, GDR ACTIVITIES ARE CLOSELY MONITORED BY SOVIETS, WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN EFFECT PERFORMING PROCONSUL FUNCTIONS. THUS SITUATION IS DESIGNED TO FOSTER ISOLATION, FRUSTRATION AND WESTERN DIPLOMATIC INBREEDING. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT DESPITE ACKNOWLEDGED DIFFICULTY OF BY-PASSING GOVERNMENTAL RESTRICTIONS, A BROADER AND MORE PROFITABLE LEVEL OF CONTACT WITHIN GDR IS POSSIBLE THAN HAS HERETOFORE BEEN ACHIEVED BY OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES, IN FIRST INSTANCE, BEHIND GOVERNMENTAL FACADE, MOST MAJOR DECISIONS ARE MADE WITHIN SED COUNCILS. WHILE PARTY HIERARCHY, EXCEPT ON FORMAL OCCASION, GENERALLY AVOIDS FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, SOME OF SED-SPONSORED INSTITUTIONS HAVE DEVELOPED VESTED INTERESTS IN DIRECT CONTACTS WITH U.S. DIPLOMATS IN WEST BERLIN. THESE CONNECTIONS, WHICH IN PAST HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE, SHOULD NOT ONLY BE MAINTAINED BUT ACTIVELY DEVELOPED. NATIONAL FRONT REPRESENTATIVES, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH EITHER SECURITY OR IDEOLOGICAL PORTFOLIOS IN SUPPORT OF SED, MAY ALSO BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO APPROACH.

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CONTACT WITH POPULATION AT LARGE IS LIKELY TO BE SPORADIC
AND UNSTRUCTURED, BUT ON BASIS OUR EXPERIENCES IN LEIPZIG
AND ELSEWHERE, CITIZENRY IS SURPRISINGLY FRANK AND CORDIAL
AND ITS MOODS ARE RELATIVELY EASILY ASSESSED.KLEIN

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